2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

Glass "turquoises" made the head-band yet more protective. Small cocks are still made as heads of pins to fasten the head-dress to the hair in the Herzegovina.

In the prehistoric graves at Glasinatz in Bosnia, tiny bronze amulets, shaped like doves, have been found. In North Albania three wooden

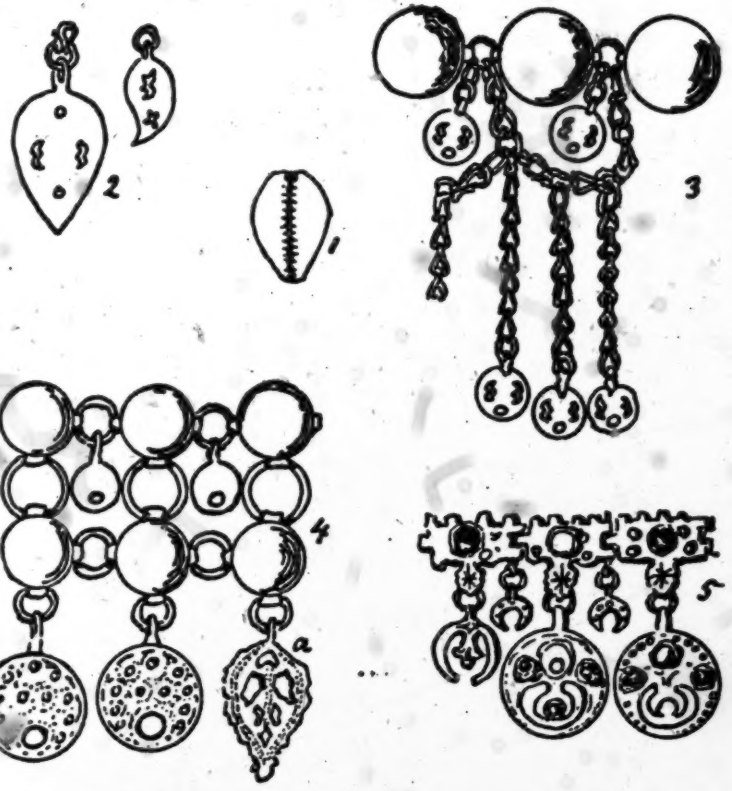

FIG. 19—SPECIMENS SHOWING EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT FROM COWRY

1. Natural cowry. 2. Pendant common in North Albania. 3. Necklace from Kolashin, Montenegro (old specimen). 4. Breast ornament from Nikaj, North Albania (modern). 5. Old necklace, Scutari.

doves perch on many a wooden grave-cross. Especially good examples are at Boga. A dove forms part of the decorative design worked on the scarlet cloak worn by the Catholic married women of Scutari, as does also the serpent. My repeated inquiries failed to find any explanation of this dove. "It must be some old tale which we have forgotten," was the reply of the embroiderers. The Glasinatz amulets from ancient

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1

pre-Christian and pre-Slav days show the tale to have been, indeed, so old as to justify its being forgotten. The dove appears, too, on a pair of silver earrings I have from Mirdita.

Many of the Hallstadt period bronze ornaments, notably a number of tiny pendants in the form of buckets, cups, jugs, crosses, and animals, found at Prozor in Croatia (Kunst Histor. Museum, Vienna, Room XIII, 31), are extraordinarily like the strings of little household and other articles which dangle from a silver chain hooked to either side of the head-dress of the women of Nish in Serbia. Shoes, scissors, ploughs, plates, hammers, hatchets, hoes, pistols, the war-club ("buzdovan"), and sword are mixed with frogs, hares, and cocks. The cross, the ladder, and the paten usually hang in the middle, thus bringing the ornament into Christian times as the pistol does into "civilized ones." This curious chain hangs under the chin. It was still being made by the local silversmiths in 1902 and much worn. I had seen nothing like it anywhere else till I found, in the Kunst Hist. Museum in Vienna, a sumptuous gold chain a yard long, found in 1797 at Szilagy Somlyo in Hungary, along with fifteen big gold medals of Roman emperors set in gold frames—three of Maximianus, seven of Valens, one of Valentinianus, one of Constantine the Great, two of Constantius, and one of Gratianus. Thus from A.D. 284 to A.D.383. The official catalogue describes it: "The principal object is the chain (No. 290), with models of implements of all sorts." I found ox-yoke, ladder, adze, several hammers, trident, straight sword, shield, war-club, pincers, tongs, scissors, ploughshare, axe, curved sword, reaping-hook, spear-heads, and an outstretched hand. In the centre hangs a ball of topaz, on which stands a golden vase on which two lions set their paws. Above the ball and attached to the chain is a curious dugout canoe in which a man with an oar sits. The whole is beautifully worked in solid gold and is very magnificent—the lordly ancestor of the peasant ornament still made in inferior silver at Nish.

The twisted chain-link is the same; so are the bulk of the implements—and nothing resembling this chain of implements have I found elsewhere. Did the Hallstadt folk of Prozor wear those little bronze pots and vases on a chain? For whom and when was the golden chain of Somlyo wrought? And why do the smiths of Nish still imitate it? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In Bosnia very elaborate head-dresses were, till recently, worn by women with plumes of coloured grasses, peacock's feathers, beads, coins, and dingle-dangles, all designed to attract the Evil Eye away from the wearer. Perhaps the subtlest way is to wear a small looking-glass, for the Evil Eye then throws its evil glance upon itself. Best of all was to wear the glass at the back of the head on the headkerchief,

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

Both the name and the food taboos being even to-day so common in the Balkans, it is strange to find Herodotus, so many centuries ago, mentioning both as peculiar customs of the Ionians and explaining them thus: "Even those who esteemed themselves the most noble of the Ionians on first settling in the country brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women whose husbands they put to death. In consequence of this violence the women made a compact which they delivered to their daughters never to sit at meals with their husbands nor to call them by their appropriate names" (Bk. I, c. xlvi). He, however, expressly states that these Ionians were of very mixed origin, saying that: "Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, and Dorians of Epidaurus were mingled with them." These are some of the oldest known Balkan tribes. The Molossians especially were in South Albania. The food and name taboos were thus possibly brought from the Balkans to Asia by the men. Judging by the present Balkan peoples, it is far more likely that the customs should have been enforced by them on their captured wives than that Herodotus's explanation should be correct.

B 262 175 171 562

4. Taboo on Showing the Face

The amount of veiling done by the women varies very considerably among the Balkan peoples, I know. The most closely veiled and hooded of all were the Moslem Slavs of Mostar and Serajevo. The Moslem Slav, whether called Serb or Croat, is a very strict Mohammedan.

A H 784 562

This may be because the Bosnians and Herzegovinians—the Bosnians more especially—adopted Islam in many cases as early as the fifteenth century, whereas the Albanians, upon whom it sits far more lightly, and a very large number of whom belong to the heretical Bektashi sect, became Mohammedan mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some in the nineteenth. The women of the Moslem Albanian mountain tribes are never veiled, and will come to market and bargain freely with any man, their faces more exposed than those of many Christians.

A 794 562 292 171

In the towns, which were under the rule of Turkish officials whose womenfolk possibly set the fashions, the Albanian Moslem women were all more or less closely veiled. In Dulcigno they almost exceeded the hooding of Mostar, and have preserved the custom under the rule of the Montenegrin, which was forced upon them by the pious efforts of Mr. Gladstone.

A 292 171

The veiling of women was, however, not unknown in Ancient Greece, and the veiling or partial veiling of both men and women was practised in various primitive and non-Moslem lands. The usual explanation of

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

"That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of
[563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the
562 Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in
[171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed
[531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair
[303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

If, however, she returns home and marries into another family, her father pays to her first husband's heirs, or to her son if she have one, half the dowry promised at her second betrothal. With the exception of her deceased husband's brother, a woman may not re-marry in the same village without the consent of his relatives. In the mountains of Pulati this is never given, and a vendetta follows if it is dispensed with. If the betrothed man die, his brother has also the right to marry the betrothed maiden, but must pay to her parents, in addition to the dowry already promised, a hundred and fifty piastres. 587 [628]

An Albanian has the right to beat his wife if she misconducts herself, but this right is little exercised except among the Liaps, who are the rudest and most brutal of all Albanians. He must, however, be careful not to draw blood even in the most trifling degree, for, if a wife receives a mere scratch in the course of a castigation, she complains to her parents, who cite the husband before the authorities. The penalty consists chiefly in the payment of a considerable fine, which becomes the private property of the woman abused. 593 [681]

Divorce is not uncommon among the Moslem Albanians, who follow in this respect the customs of the Ottomans, the husband paying to the discarded wife the sum specified in the marriage contract in view of such a contingency. The divorce generally takes place at the instance of the husband, but the wife may also claim it for a limited number of reasons. If, for instance, a man has left his native town or village, and does not return within the period fixed by the 586 [171]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 852 [774] belong. With the Moslems no religious character is attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father [608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his god-child;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a [302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 554 Although the Albanian beys have neither written charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely. [774 177]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 184 are fired incessantly, and the strains of wild music echoing from the surrounding hills add to the animation of the scene.

The wedding ceremonies observed in Southern Albania, in so far as they differ from those of the Northern Albanians, resemble very closely the Greek country customs described in the preceding volume.[1]

764 ●171 The funeral observances of the Albanians also resemble in some degree those of the Greeks. Family ties are equally strong in both races, and the death of a relative is always a source of poignant grief to the survivors. The demonstrations of sorrow are loudest and most heartrending when a man or woman dies in the prime of life. When he is believed to be at the point of death, the women watching round him give utterance to frightfully piercing cries and shrieks, upon hearing which the friends hasten to the house of mourning in order to take part in the death chorus. When the last breath is drawn, all the near female relatives of the deceased who are not past middle age —wife, sisters, sisters-in-law, and daughters—testify their grief by beating their breasts, scratching their faces until the blood flows, and tearing out or cutting off their hair. In their utter abandonment of sorrow they also beat their heads against the walls of the room, calling wildly upon the deceased by his or her name, often exhausting themselves to such a degree as to lose for the time the use of their voices. With the weaker among them these frenzies of sorrow gene-

763

[1] Chapter iii. An account of these ceremonies may be found in Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, and Dozon, *Contes Albanais*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

also made use of by the Albanian highlanders generally, when settling matters of importance. According to this writer, quoting from M. Ampère,[1] a similar custom also existed among the ancient Romans. Sylla, on leaving Rome to fight against Mithridates, required Cinna to swear, not by the national divinities, but on the Sacred Stone, and according to an ancient rite of the Etruscans, to make no innovations during his absence. Cinna, when pronouncing this oath, placed the stone on his shoulder, and then threw it backwards, while he pronounced, in a loud voice, the curses which should fall upon him were he false to his promise. The taking of this oath in Albania is attended with the same ceremonies. It is sworn by the elders of the *phars*, or clans, on the occasion of settling serious disputes, such as those concerning the boundaries of village lands, or other communal matters. The elders of the two tribes, Christian or Moslem, after taking the Oath of the Stone, assemble in council and settle the question at issue.

This oath, in another form, also enters into every-day speech. In course of conversation, when a Gheg wishes to emphasise what he is saying, he takes up in his hand, or points to, the nearest stone, saying, "By this weight" (*Per ket pésh*), and a Tosk makes use of the phrase, "By the heaviness of this stone" (*Per te rond te keti gúr*).[2]

The Supernals, with which the Albanian women terrify themselves and their children, appear to be, for the most part, like those of the Bulgarians,

[1] *Histoire des Romains à Rome.* [2] Wassa Effendi, *Op. cit.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 personifications of the powers of Nature. Of these imaginary beings, some belong exclusively to Albania, while others may also be found among the superstitions of Slavs, Greeks, and Turks. The Vilas seem to approach most nearly to our own fairies; though, like the Nereids of the Greeks, they are of the full stature of mortals. Like our fairies, too, it is unlucky to mention them by name, and they are generally referred to as "Those outside," "The Happy Ones," the "Brides of May," or "The Brides of the Mountain." As a rule they are harmless, if not offended, and amuse themselves with elfish tricks, such as taking little children up to the roof of the house to play with and bringing them back safely. 776 They, however, take it very ill when mortals disturb 753 them in their haunts, and interrupt their banquets; and 761 so capricious are they, that they will place themselves invisibly in spots where they are likely to be disturbed, in order to have a little vent for their pent-up malice. The unlucky wight who sets an irreverent foot within their elfin rings receives a stroke from an invisible hand, and ere long sickens and dies. In consequence of this belief, it is said of one for whose death no adequate cause can be assigned, "He has received a blow."

[171]

776 The favourite haunts of the Vilas are retired and shady spots, but they also have a partiality for the gutters on the eaves of houses, which it is a rather risky matter to clean out, especially at night. The Vilas are said, in North Albania, to be of two kinds—well-disposed and beautiful beings, who ride about on fleet horses; and ill-disposed and hideous creatures,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

When our hero returned, they repeated to him the words of his wife. Without losing a moment, he bought three pairs of iron shoes, and set out in search of her. On the spot at which he had arrived when the last pair was worn out he built a khan, where travellers might eat and drink without paying, and he questioned them as to what they had seen on their journeys. One said, "Not far from here I had let my water-cask fall, and it rolled to the bottom of a ravine. When I went down to find it, I saw twelve maidens bathing in a fountain."

539

At these words our hero rushed out of doors, and the traveller having described to him the spot, he approached the bathers unperceived, seized the dress of his wife, and threw it into the fire which they had kindled in order to wash their clothes. Her dress burnt, the Beauty had no means of escaping him again, for in it was contained all her magic power, and she returned with her husband to the king.

The story of the "Maiden promised to the Sun" is made up of two separate episodes, both of which have their variants in the folk-lore of the Greeks and Bulgarians. In the Greek variant[1] of the first part of the story, the maiden is stolen by a ray of sunshine which enters through the key-hole, and carries her to his master. Two hares are commissioned to take her back to her mother, who silvers the tail of the surviving one as a reward for its services. A Bul-

538
171

[1] Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 41.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

539 garian ballad[1] also describes the stealing of a maiden by the Sun. Prayers addressed to Nature-powers, as to the Sun in this story, are not uncommon in Greek and Albanian folk-tales, though the name of God is occasionally substituted for or added to them.[2] The following is, however, the only instance of the Sun or other power voluntarily relinquishing his captive. In a Greek parallel to the second part of the story, [538 171] Τὸ μαχαίρι της σφαγῆς, &c., "The Knife of Slaughter,"[3] a Gipsy woman is substituted for the slave. The incident of the man transformed to stone by a spell is of frequent occurrence, as, for instance, in the story from the island of Astypaleá, Τὸ χρυσὸ ἄλογο, "The Golden Horse,"[4] and in the Gipsy story of "The King's Son and the Daughter of the Dervish."[5]

The Maiden who was Promised to the Sun.[6]

There was, and there was not.[7] There was once a queen who had no child, and she prayed continually the Sun to give her one, were it only a girl; when [582] she should be twelve years old,[8] she added, the Sun could have her back again.

Finally the queen had a daughter, and she went

[1] Dozon, *Chants Bulgares*, No. xii.

[2] See, for instance, Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, Nos. iv. v. liv. and cxii.

[3] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 49, translated by Geldart in the little volume somewhat too ambitiously entitled *The Folk-lore of Modern Greece*.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 80. [5] See below, p. 370.

[6] Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, No. vii.

[7] The usual preface to an Albanian folk-tale. The Magyar formula, *Volt, nem volt*, has the same meaning.

[8] The marriageable age.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

539 wards the Pasha's son-in-law arrived to fetch the article ordered. The blacksmith gave him the handkerchief, which he carried to his father-in-law.

When the Pasha saw him alive before his eyes, he trembled in every limb; but what was his grief when, on opening the handkerchief, he found the head of his son! However, he made no sign, but gave this order to his groom—"To-night, if the horses fight, leave them alone, so that my son-in-law may go down and quiet them. Do thou, however, be behind the door, with a bludgeon in thy hand, and the moment he appears, smash his skull."

"Very well," was the reply.

During the night, the horses having begun to fight, the Pasha called to his son-in-law to go and quiet them, but his wife persuaded him not to get up, saying that they would soon stop. The Pasha, who thought that this time he was really dead, went out of his room and crept softly towards the stable. The groom thought it was the son-in-law coming, and with one blow struck him dead.

Then the youth took the power into his own hands, and became Pasha in place of the other. And so it all fell out as the Third Woman had foretold, at the time of his birth, that he should supplant the Pasha.

Our story is done. The youth was lucky, and may we be luckier still!

538 The following story of The Three Brothers and the
●171 Three Sisters has many parallels in Greek folk-tale. In an Epirote variant the sisters are married respect-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

ively to a lion, a tiger, and an eagle,[1] and in the others we have besides the "Mother of Night," the Mother of the Sun, of the Moon, and of the Wind, who protect the princess against their own sons.[2]

538
171

The Three Brothers and the Three Sisters.[3]

539

There were, and there were not. There were once three brothers who had three sisters, and they married them, and gave the first to the Sun, the second to the Moon, and the third to the South Wind.[4]

Some time afterwards, I don't know how long, the brothers said to each other, "Let us go to our sisters and see how they fare." So without wasting time they made ready for the journey, took their provisions, and set off. As they were going the night overtook them when they were on a plain near a mountain. So they stopped there, took out their provisions, and made a fire. Supper finished, the eldest of the brothers said to the others:

"Lie down and sleep, and I will watch and keep guard for fear that some one might come to rob or kill us."

So the two younger ones slept, and he mounted guard. Presently a Koutchédra, seeing the light, came up, and, her mouth watering at the sight of the men, she threw herself upon the one who was watching, to eat him. But he with a shot from

[1] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια; No. 12, *Gr. und Alb. Märchen*, No. 25.
[2] *Ibid.* No. 10.
[3] Dozon, *Langue Chkipe*, No. xxiv., *Contes Albanais*, No. xv.
[4] *Youga.* In Albanian, as in Servian and Bulgarian, the moon and the south are masculine, and from this circumstance M. Dozon was of opinion that this story is of Slav origin.

[821]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud. For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants, its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

embodied in a code there is an end to its spontaneous development. But to reach this stage the code must be an enacted code, written and recorded, and this the pronouncements of the Albanian law-givers failed to achieve. On the contrary their codes seem to have remained in the verbal custody of the village or tribal elders and subject to modification or reinterpretation from time to time by assemblies of clans or villages. It is at this stage that we have Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian customary law—law primitive enough in many ways to be compared with the customary law of tribes much less civilized than the Albanians; but it reached the point, and that some five hundred years ago, of becoming codified verbally by the efforts of individual law-givers, Skanderbeg in particular and the famous Lek Dukagjini, without having reached the stage of enactment. This was principally due to the fact that there was no one able to enforce sanctions over the Albanian community as a whole; individual Albanian chieftains had not the power, and Turkish rule interfered but little outside the towns. It was no doubt this absence of any such sanctions as those provided by an enacted law and enforced by a settled government, or merely even by the continuity in administration of a single ruling family, which was the primary cause of the firm establishment of the vendetta as the real sanction for all Albanian law and custom. At the same time, however, economic conditions have probably contributed to this result, for in a richer country the administration of justice might have been made profitable to any ruler strong enough to provide it. Thus Albanian customary law not only reflects an economic stage through which most nations have passed before the establishment of enacted codes, but also a condition, by no means unique but very far from universal, in which poor and isolated communities have resorted to the vendetta for the sanction of their law, and that in spite of any influence that Christianity or Islam might have had to prevent it. The etiquette of the vendetta itself is likewise a customary code not dissimilar to taboo in nature and origins; and without any more definite sanction, or naturally any sort of legislative enactment, regular and almost technical forms of procedure have come into existence in what virtually are regularly constituted courts. In this the Icelandic practices, as described in the sagas of Njal and Kormak, for instance, afford a near parallel to those of Albania, and Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian custom will prove of importance not

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

merely to ethnologists and social anthropologists but also to those concerned with the early history of jurisprudence.

Apart from that the contents of this volume are likely to be of no little interest to the general reader as giving an account of the unfamiliar way of life of a people of very distinct and individual culture, who have throughout history taken pride and pleasure in their separateness. For the Albanians, direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, still retain something of their ancient form of Aryan speech very distinct from that of other branches of the family; they still retain an ancient tribal system; and they still have that passionate love of independence which caused many of them to forsake their native mountains and form settlements in Greece, Calabria, and Sicily when their country was occupied by the Turks after the death of their leader Skanderbeg (George Castriota) in 1467. As a result of the Turkish conquest several of the Albanian tribes changed from Christianity to Islam, and there are now many Muslim Albanians as well as both Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. The Mirdite, who constitute the biggest tribe, were perhaps at one time Orthodox, and are now staunch Catholics. But their profession of faith seems to have affected but little the adherence of the Albanians to their ancient customs.

J. H. HUTTON

NEW RADNOR
June 1953

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291
294
286
531

No. 1935-76. This is a very fine cotton net veil measuring 4 feet (1·3 m.) square, handsomely embroidered in floss silk. The design consists of a border 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide, of which a small portion near a corner is illustrated in Fig. 8; large corner motives of a bouquet form, about 14 inches (35·6 cm.) square, reach almost to the centre and little floral sprays spot the remaining space.

FIG. 8.—Part of the silk outlined and darned border on a silk lace veil.

The style of the lace, as can be seen from Fig. 8, is a fairly free treatment of floral forms. It is executed in an outline of double running with darning stitches and satin-stitch as the chief filling-in stitches, although there are some ornamental filling stitches and overcast eyelets.

• [171]

The method of working this embroidered lace is similar in style and execution to the darned laces worked in England in the early 19th Century, and to some of those of Austria and Hungary of the same period and of somewhat earlier date*.

* "Peasant Art in Austria and Hungary." The Studio, Special Number, Autumn 1911.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

A
S
291
294
171

The two head scarves also depicted on Plate XV are good specimens of embroidery in metal thread, and have a strong affinity with Turkish work.

No. 1936-46. The scarf shown at "E" is from northern Albania, and is of cream coloured, gauze-like muslin, worked entirely in gold thread and gold plate. One of the motives has been enlarged at "g" in order to show how the two working materials have been used. The edge near the decorated ends is closely buttonholed with cream silk.
A
291
294
531
286

No. 1935-92. The other example, drawn at "F" on Plate XIV, is of much more skilled workmanship. The material is hand-woven silk with broad stripes of heavier silk weft, and the embroidered ends are worked in a pale gold thread with touches of vivid colours here and there. The two motives have a likeness to the familiar pine pattern of India and Persia, and are filled in solidly with gold basket-stitch separated by double lines of slanting stitches giving the effect of a plait. The two ends are beautifully finished off by a scalloped edge of needle-point worked in fine cream silk with the tiny scallops filled in with black.
A
[171]

The remaining five scarf head-dresses, which are worn with the worked ends hanging down the back, are all from Zadrima, a district near Scutari, on the banks of the river Drin. Two of them are for festival wear, and these both have their patterns worked mainly in gold thread, with outlines and some smaller motives in crimson, emerald and purple silk.
A
292
294
531
286

No. 1935-34. The handsomer of the two has a foundation of fine yellow cotton gauze, with weft stripes of different widths of white silk. It is hand-woven, and there are 36 warp ends and 60 weft picks to the inch in the plain parts of the cloth, which is 19 inches (48·2 cm.) wide and, including the scanty weft fringe at the ends, 4 feet 8 inches (1·4 m.) long.

The handsome border at either end is 11¾ inches (29·8 cm.) wide, including three, quarter-inch, gold thread weft stripes filling a space of 2 inches (5·1 cm.) on either side of the main pattern. The latter is divided by four narrow, multiple weft stripes of white, gold, red and green into a wide central border and two narrower ones.

The wider border consists of paired and single lozenges used alternately, their longer diagonals being horizontal, and in between them vertical zig-zag lines. All these are brocaded in by means of small free spools carrying three gold threads wound tape-wise. The gold lozenges are outlined with scarlet, purple and green floss silk, also worked in by means of free spools.

The narrower borders consist of single lozenges in gold, also outlined in colours, and with small, coloured silk devices between.

The effect of brocading each small motive by its individual spool produces a similar result to a darned-in pattern.

No. 1937-7. The other "festal" head-dress is similar in material although the cotton gauze ground is of a more greenish yellow, and its weft stripes are of cotton instead of silk. It is 20 inches (50·8 cm.) wide and 4 feet 4 inches (1·3 m.) in length, but the decorative borders at the ends are only 5 inches (12·7 cm.) wide, consisting of a wide central pattern and two narrower ones divided by multiple weft stripes.

[Text continues on p. 65]

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

A
Y
583
515
531
A
286
515
531
A
171
474
264

"As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

No. 1937·11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer weft stripes in silk.

In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven "ibriks" or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIA).

"The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. 'Marama' and 'ibrik' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch ("c" Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi. in "d" on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The "tree of life", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

S
286
515
531

No. 1937·12. Another "marama" of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIB). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

S
A
286
515
531

No. 1937·13. A motive representing "the dove returning to the ark" is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIc).

"This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious running pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*, Vol. XXIII, No. 5, 1923.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

S
A
286
515
531

the patterned section comes this is replaced by a very fine picot edge worked in orange silk.

No. 1937·5. One half of an end of a gaily embroidered " marama " is drawn at " E " on Plate XVI. The material is hand-woven cotton of a muslin-like texture, which again has both silk and cotton weft stripes. The pattern shows a strong Turkish influence, the towel being bought in Prizren in 1908. Prizren was then in Turkish terr[illegible]

[171]

Gold thread and black silk help to tone down the gay, but rather hard, aniline greens, red, pink and violet, and the final result is bright but pleasing. Gold thread is used for the running border, lining the stems, filling in the white berries of the drawing and the square spots. The large and the fern-like leaves are solidly filled in with a variant of the Turkish stitch, in which the stitches are sloped both going and returning so that it is like two rows of a slanted running stitch. A rough fringe of the warp ends finishes off the lower edges. The selvedges at the sides have not been finished off in any way, and the carry over of the spools of silk and doubled cotton which were used for the stripes leave it rather untidy.

No. 1936·49. Another towel of similar material to the last, but with a whipped selvedge, has a design of crimson roses with green, gold and black leaves. With the exception of a little pulled stitch in gold, the stitches used are also similar, but there is in addition a charming little border near the lower edge. The towel is another example from Prizren and the design is of Persian origin.

A
286
515
531

No. 1936·58. A muslin marama from Scutari has whipped selvedges and a border at the ends of highly conventionalised flower sprays worked in pale blue, dull violet and pale blue silk in Turkish stitch, with flowers formed of three squares filled in with gold plate.

A border below the main pattern consists of double buds or flowers in gold plate which somewhat resemble crosses.

No. 1937·14. The last specimen of an embroidered towel is of machine-woven material and has a flower design without special interest.

M
286
515
531

No. 1935·32. A very fine old " marama " from the Kolašin district of hand-woven cotton with wide weft stripes of a coarser cotton has six rows of the " ibrik " motive and four rows of a triangular motive woven on the plain material between the stripes.

Both these designs are woven in by means of small free spools, or possibly needles, and the same thick cotton weft is used as that for the stripes. The handsome border at the ends (Plate XVIIb) is also woven in by a number of free spools, producing a result like fine darning in which the needle would go over one thread and under one thread of the fabric alternately.

The only materials used are Turkey red and black cotton, and a very fine gold thread.

The flowers are centred with gold and have red petals with gold spots, the whole being outlined with a band of black. Leaves and other details are chiefly outlined in red and filled in with gold. A weft stripe of red near the end has inserts of little triangles on the gold, and an amusing fringe made of the twisted warp ends is decorated with red and black beads, probably Venetian, small Turkey red tassels and an imitation coin.

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

342 The simplest stone buildings are made of dry masonry. Windows are lacking. The roof may be made of two rows of boards, 30-40 centimeters wide and rather thick, which are weighted down with stones or with a beam at the eaves. Occasionally they may have a hipped roof covered with stone slabs (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). More common are buildings of mortar and stone. When the interior is partitioned, interior walls are of lighter material, wickerwork or wooden boards. Whereas in Rumania and most of the southern Slav [171] area the entrance leads to the central kitchen, on each side of which are symmetrical rooms, in Albania the hearths are located on either side of the building and there is only a passage between the two side rooms (figs. 50, 51) (Nopcsa, 1925: 39).

More often than one-story houses, one finds two-story ones (only the kulas may have more than two stories). The ground floor has storage rooms and stables, while the second story has two rooms. The stairway to the second story is located on the outside. Often one finds a two-story house that has a veranda along the whole front and a massive masonry stairway leading up to it (fig. 49). When the veranda is encompassed by the side walls of the house it is called a shamashin, when not enclosed, çardak (Nopcsa, 1925: 43). In the veranda house, the basement space under the veranda and the rooms may be partitioned off with dry masonry or wooden boards into small rooms for storage and animals (Nopcsa, 1925: 44).

The stairs leading up to the second story may have wooden banisters. The roof may project over the stairs, or a separate canopy roof may be built over them. Sometimes a small stairway house is built over it (fig. 53) which makes for greater security when stepping out of the house. (The position of the door is always an important factor in Albania). Nopcsa (1925: 53) believes that this staircase is an independent development. One part of the veranda may be walled in to form a small room (fig. 50). The pattern of building separate houses for family members when the family gets too large is not known in Albania. However, in northern Albania this is given consideration when building additions to the house or making changes. If one needs more room, the building is enlarged or a room may be subdivided. Fig. 51 represents modification of a building into two separate units each with its own stairway.

342 Kulas are high tower-like structures of massive masonry that
[112] can be defended by a few men. Instead of windows they have loop-
[347] holes and sometimes have a bastion-like defense structure on their upper story (fig. 54). Special construction for defense is found even in some of the simple one-room dairy houses. Thus, in one inside corner may be erected a structure, 2.5 meters long and 1.5 meters high, of solid walls covered with a slab roof. It looks very much like an oven, especially as the opening is only 75 centimeters high and 75 centimeters wide (Nopcsa, 1925: 52).

The door of the kula is generally to one side. Stairs to the second story are on the inside and may be merely ladders that lean

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 39, 41). 351 [712]

The kuker is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The koš for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [171]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1
Yugoslavia
EF1

A 342 [114] consideration the remarks of all other previous investigators, especially those of J. Von Hahn (1) and A. Haberlandt (2).

According to Nopcsa, the social status existing in Albania which, as Haberlandt remarked, has not changed since the medieval years, the lack of security, frequent revolutions and the systematic burning by the Turkish army of the houses of the fugitives from justice, contributed, before 1909, in bringing the housing situation to a very low level. Inhabitants of some mountainous regions of Albania (Sala, Kastrati), have stated that any relatively high buildings were considered as a novelty introduced into the country only before sixty years. According to Nopcsa, before the introduction of the two-storey house with a prostoon and of the Kula, the Albanians, who live in mountainous regions, the two-thirds of the country being at an altitude of over 1.000 meters, must have inhabited low huts, comprising one or two rooms at most and covered with hay or branches. Generally speaking, the evolution from the simpler forms of housing to the more composite ones has been very slow and toilsome in Albania, comparable to the slow process of Albanian civilisation.

A [133] A [127] Here below I shall try to consider the house of Northern Albania, studied by Nopcsa, and, as regards Middle Albania (3), I shall only refer to the little but verified information we have from von Hahn and Ekrem bei Vlora (4).

According to Nopcsa, we distinguish in Albania a) houses of temporary or semi-temporary and permanent character, and b) houses built of timber, of other organic material and of stone.

In Northern Albania we first see the most primitive forms of housing, such as the cave dwellings of the Cem valley with the Cruda tribe, which entirely correspond to the prehistoric shelters. Caves formed at the ends of the valley, were enclosed by stone

Y [342]

1) **J. G. von Hahn,** Albanische Studien. Jena 1853/54.

2) **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien. Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Volkskunde, Ergänzungsband 23, Wien 1918 — Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1919.

A [171] 3) The area to the South of the Avlon gulf, as far as the Greek border is not examined in this book. This area is very wrongly referred to as Southern Albania in foreign surveys The houses of this region are those of North Epirus and their building style is purely Greek.

4) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** Aus Berat und vom Tomor. Tagebuchblätter (Zur Kunde d. Balkanh. 13) Sarajevo 1911.

342 the above single-room house; thus there are now two doors in the house, corresponding to the internal, in fact only theorical, division of the room (1) (fig. 64). The floor consists of well beaten earth.

In later years, this internal division of the room was materielised by the erection of a real wall dividing the room into two serarate [354] spaces. In some areas, this dividing wall runs parallel to the long side of the house; two dwellings are thus formed, each having a separate fireplace (Plate XVIII 5). But the most common division of space is that done by a transversal wall, i.e. running at right angles

Fig. 63. Houses near Dinoshi, in the area of tribe Grnda
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 34)

to the main pole. This wall is always built of lighter material (woven branches or planks) than the outer walls.

[354] Of the above two rooms one contains the fireplace and it is the [574] dwelling of men and the guest-room for visitors. The other, with no fireplace, is a sort of ante-room and it is used as cellar and dwelling for women. (Plate XVIII 3).

● 171 The entrance is always in the ante-room, through which one 342 enters the main room where the fireplace is. This is, according to 354 Nopcsa, a difference to be noted when comparing the above house to the corresponding Serbian and Croatian, which has the fireplace in the ante-room, as we have seen. This difference is also to be noted in the tripartite Albanian house. In Jugoslav and Rumanian regions,

1) The two separate doors can also be seen as a rule in houses of the villages in Attica. See **St. Kyriakidis**, Σπίτια καὶ καλύβια τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐν Ἠπείρῳ. Ὁδοιπ. Συνδέσμου, 1926, p. 67.

342 the central-room, which has the entrance and the fireplace, is used
354 as a kitchen, and the two rooms on each side are living rooms. On
● [171] the contary, in Albania and in Herzegovina—had Nopcsa known the Greek house he would have added Greece(1)—there are rooms with fireplaces on each end of the house; a simple entrance between them is, according to Nopcsa, (and others before him), a proof that this room was previousley used as a stable (p. 39) (Plate XVIII 13). It must be noted that the fireplace has been moved from the party wall and is now always against the external wall of a short side, because this one is, as we have already said, more stoutly built than the middle one. This is the reason why in Middle Albania where, as

342

Fig. 64. Winter dwelling of the Nikshi baïraktar in Bregumatja
(Nopcsa. Albanien, fig. 18)

354 noted by Hahn, the entire hut is usually built of timber, the wall of one narrow side, where the fireplace is built, is always made of stone or bricks.

Nopcsa attributes the construction of two-storey buildings in Albania not to a need to increase living space in hight, as it would be probable in a country where a horizontal increase is not always possible, because of the mountainous nature of the ground, but to the same reason why the floor of a wheat-store is built high over the ground, namely to the need for protection from dampness(2).

An example of a simple two-storey house is given by the plan

---

1) Nopcsa knows the Greek dwellings only from the book of **De la Guilletière** Lacédémoine ancienne et nouvelle, Paris 1676, noting here and there some happy comparisons in building and other habits of Albanians and Maniates (pp. 39-54).

2) See **Fr. Oelmann,** p. 73, On the Composition of Multi-floored Buildings.

342 reason for building another house would be the dissolution of family
[592] bonds.

Consequently, the system which exists in the Slav countries, to
[171] build separate, additional, small dwellings for young or married members of the family, is foreign to the housing customs of the Albanians.

As Nopcsa remarks (p. 49), a more developed and organically disposed house, like that pictured in Fig. 72, cannot easily be expanded, because of the serious difficulties created by a corridor running along it, as well as for the position of fireplaces and staircase. That these difficulties may be overcome, is shown by the house of Trushi (in Zadrima) Fig. 73.

[354] In this house, fireplaces have been moved to the front long wall and placed between two windows. Two staircases have been built

Fig. 73. Big house in Trushi, in the plain of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

in addition, with two prostoa opening at the centre. A twin house has thus been formed, each of which it is completely separate from the other. By the wooden extensions of both prostoa, some of which
[251] project and are supported dy wooden beams, there are formed some washing places known from our own villages; or cupboards, for victuals, that are protected against mice on the one hand, and are in a cool air draft on the other.

Similar constructions are seen in the veranda of an old two-storey house of Scodra (Fig. 74). This house is more than 125 years old and it is built at right angles, because of the smallness of the building plot. The ground floor includes a weaving room, an oil press, a stable, a wood store, etc.; living rooms are all in the upper floor.

In the front its centre is taken by a large open room, also disposed 342
at right angles, whose roof is supported by wooden poles. Both ends of the front part of the house are occupied by brick-walled rooms. The construction of a stone-built staircase, leading to the upper floor, is characteristic of the construction mode. The staircase consists of two branches, it is internal and pierces through the floor of the veranda. Its steps are supported by two quarter-circle arches, and the landing by a semi-circular arch. If Scodra were not mentioned in [171]
the picture, we would imagine this house to be in Yannena or Arta (1). It is well known, that steps placed on arches are widely used at

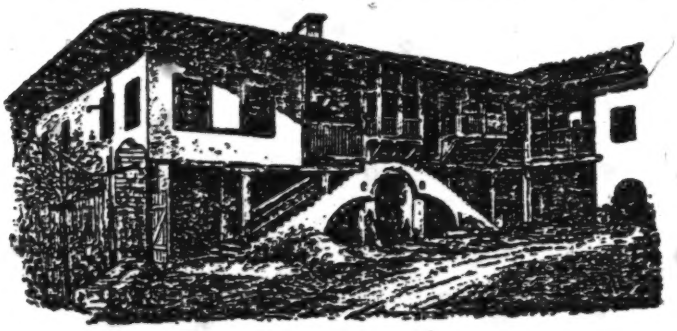

Fig. 74. Old house of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 36)

the houses of Mystras; they remained in use at the popular houses [171]
of Greece until the beginning of 19th century, a characteristic element of Byzantine architecture which, according to An. Orlandos, «not only resulted in economy of space and building materials, but also gave lightness and grace to the staircase» (2).

The house of Middle Albania presents a similar evolution as [184]
that of Northern Albania despite the great difference in habits and customs displayed by the population on either side of the Genouses (3).

1) **A. Zachos**, Ἠπειρ. Χρονικά vol. 3 (1928) Table 5, 6 and 8 **An. Orlandos**, Ἀρχ. Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος vol. B. pp. 186, 189, 191 **Ang. Hadjimihali**, L'Art Populaire Grec, Athènes. 1937 p. 59 Fig. 24. Comp. **Ang. Hadjimihali**, Ἑλλ. Λαϊκὴ Τέχνη, Athens 1931 p. 175 Fig. 179 Ρουμλούκι, Τοίχοι, Ἰκαρία.

2) See **An. Orlandos**, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος. Volume C. 1937 p. 60 and foll.

3) See **A. Keramopoullos**, Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι γείτονες, p. 200.

A
342 We conclude this from the description of J. von Hahn who visited
[171] Albania during the middle of the 19th century. «Albanians», says Hahn, «just like Greeks, seem to prefer the two-storey house. This takes the form of an elongated rectangle, divided into two parts both in the ground and in the upper floor. In the ground-floor one of them is a stable and the other a store-room.

» The two rooms of the upper floor have a long veranda in front of them, supported by wooden poles and opening on the yard. A staircase, covered by an extension of the roof, leads up to the veranda; two doors lead to rooms that do not communicate with each other. The women of the household sit and work in this veranda during almost the whole year.

A
[369] » A considerable increase of space is effected at the veranda (as far as I know, only in urban houses) by the fact that the house itself does not comprise two, but three spaces, of which the third, a central one, does not regularly constitute a closed room, for there is no party wall between the two corner rooms and the veranda. The floor of this room is about one foot higher than that of the veranda, and it is used by the family for their meals, when the season of the year permits it. Now, if an increase of space is necessary, part of the veranda is separated and converted into a room, which is sometimes extended on this side of the veranda towards the courtyard; or the veranda is left intact and two corner rooms are built on either side of the staircase; these rooms are also facing the conrtyard, so that the veranda takes now the shape of a cross.

A
[171] » This is the form which is taken as a besis in the final shape of the Turkish house[1]), because even in the case when this or that or all the sections of the crossform building were converted into rooms, some indications in the consistence of the walls, the cornice and the

---

1) **J. von Hahn** abuses here the word «Turkish» when he means the completed form of house which has developed after a long process of evolution during the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine years in Greek countries. The truth is that the Turks adopted the closed form of house, which opens into an internal courtyard, because of the secluded life their women live. The covered verandas and open rooms of Byzantine houses were especially pleasant to them, as they had a comfortable and protected view. The presence of this architectural element in the popular urban architecture of Greece, as remarks Prof.
G
[342] **A. Keramopoullos,** Αἱ δρύφρακτοι τῶν οἰκιῶν in rev. Archimidis 2 i (1920) 61. is continuously witnessed from the 6th century B.C. up to this day. Turks have never been known as good house builders. Comp. **Gl. Markopoulos:** Ἡ λαϊκή μας ἀρχιτεκτονική, Athens 1945 p. 94.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

A
342
171

decorations allow us to discern that these rooms were(1) separated later on. When he was considering Hahn's descriptions, that prove of a most acute observation power this investigator of Greek and Albanian folklore was endowed with, Nopcsa already found some elements that bring the house of Middle Albania near that of Kastrati described above (p. 71), in what the development of the prostoon is concerned. Judging from the plans of houses in Dyrrachion and Rethi given by the Italian G. Rosati (2) in his survey, Nopcsa arrives at the conclusion that «the shape of such a house constitutes the regular type in Middle Albania» (3). If seen more closely, the shapes of houses taken as a basis by Hahn show, however, a much more advanced stage of development than that of the best houses of Northern Albania; and the plans of these houses, I have drawn on Plate XVIII No. 16-19, are basically the same as the types of Greek house on Plates V 5^b and IV 3^{b-f}. It must also be noted that the completed shape of the Bosnian house (see above p. 91, Plate XVII 9) entirely corresponds to the type of house characterised by Hahn as Turkish (Plate XVIII 19).

G
[342]
[171]

When examining the expansion of the prostyle wide-fronted house, Nopcsa finds that this house may be spread all over the Balkan peninsula, from the Peloponese to the area North of Skopje, but thinks that houses with a veranda are much more numerous in the Italian peninsula than in the Balkan(4). This is perhaps the reason why he accepts the opinion of Haberlandt, who recognises a «Roman and an Italian medieval element» in Albanian housing architecture.

A
342

As I have not been able to see the survey of A. Haberlandt,

---

1) **J. von Hahn,** Albanesishe Studien. Jena 1853 pp. 73 and 169 and foll.

2) I could not find the survey of Rosati, Condizioni agronomiche dell' Albania, 1915.

3) **Nopcsa,** op. cit. p. 46.

4) According to **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus und Hof im Altertum, p. 71, the portico which extends along the side of the rain-water drain (Längslaube) is the natural prolongation of the eagle-type wide-fronted house, especially if this house still comprises a single room, or if this room has been sub divided only internally. This may be seen in High Germany, High Italy, especially with Yugoslavs (Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria), and Rumanians, as well as with the inhabitans of New Caucasus (The Tcherkg); more rarely with the Tcechs and the Poles, and not at all in Russia and Northern Germany. But while Oelmann mentions Southern Soudan, Beast Africa, India and even China, he never mentions Greece, and completely ignores everything connected with modern Greek architecture.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

A
342
712
177
463
C
331
467
484

of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

A
171
G
342
712
171
627

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

---

1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ισνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold aiches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan seraja, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

C
167
177

See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». ('Ο Φάρος τῆς Βορ. 'Ελλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

A
G
342
712
171

as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, «many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace» (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghia and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (4). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

A
[177]

A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors and is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

---

1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ πυλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1E

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1921 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκτ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκτ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Staries on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 233), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania.

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1).

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2).

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. I B 85. See also **D Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

A
342 living space for men and women (haremlik for the women and selamlik for the men)(1).

171 It may be said as a conclusion to the whole survey that, if we
177 except simple primitive forms of the Albanian house, that belong
G probably to very ancient housing and building habits bequeathed to
177 Albanians by the ancient Illyrians and Thracians, all the composite types of houses and especially the two-floor prostyle ones, as developed by the various modifications of the prostoon (προστῶον), as well as all forms of towers (kulas) have been imported into Albania from outside. Not only technique and evolution, but also geographical and
G historical relationship persuade that this progress of Albanian archi-
[331] tecture is due to the activity of Epirot and Macedonian builders who, with their traditional technical skill, introduced better and more composite forms of housing into Albania. These builders, who travelled all over the country, have built many houses and have tought the art of building both to Albanians and to the other Balkan peoples.

1) See the plan of an Albanian urban house of Berat by Ekrem bei Vlorá p. 57 and Plate VI.